AN

APPENDIX

TO

Mercurius Reformatus:

OR THE

NEW OBSERVATOR.

By the ſame AUTHOR.

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AN APPENDIX TO MERCURIUS REFORMATUS: OR, The New Obſervator.

WHO the Author of the NEW OBSERVATOR is, the World comes to know with a witneſs. A Paper I always bluſh'd to own, and which hitherto has paſt only under a bare ſuſpicion of being mine, an unexpected Accident has now oblig'd me to acknowledg before one of *the moſt Auguſt Aſſemblies upon earth.*

I find it's expected I ſhould continue to Write this Paper, both upon the account it has not wanted Friends at Home and Abroad, that have thought it has done ſome Service to the Government; and that the Honourable Speaker of the *Houſe of Commons*, was pleaſed to lay no Commands upon me to diſcontinue it, when I was before Them. But upon ſecond thoughts, and mature deliberation, I hope I may be forgiven to lay it down for once, *leſt ſome one time or another, in tracing Truth too near, I may come to have my Teeth ſtruck out.* Yet even the fear of this ſhould not deter me, if by all that can occur to me from the preſent Juncture of Affairs of *Europe*, I did not think Their Majeſties Throne was ſetled beyond a poſſibility of being ſhaken; and therefore they come to ſtand in need of no man's Pen, (far leſs mine) to aſſert their Right.

Tho I do not repent me to have written the *New Obſervator*, yet I have found too late, that I have done it under a hateful and invidious Title. The Gentleman that began both the Thing and the Name, in the Two laſt Reigns, has juſtly entail'd upon the very word *Obſervator*, an indelible ſtain, that muſt needs ſtick to the ſofteſt and juſteſt Pen, that ſhall ever attempt to write again under that Name. The Outrages done by him to *whole Bodies and Profeſſions of Men, and to Parliaments themſelves*, could never have been paſt over in any Reign, but that of Two Princes, that ſhew the World every day, They ſcorn to eſtabliſh Their Throne upon any other Baſis, but that of an unimitable Mercy. It's no wonder then, that I'm aſham'd to have borrowed from a Paper ſo juſtly abominated by all Men of Temper, a Title to any thing I wrote: Tho at the ſame time I muſt ſay, It was rather the Fault of the Bookſeller I firſt employed, than mine.

There is one thing more that puts me to the bluſh, about this Manner of Writing. The Gentleman that firſt begun it, was ſet a-work by the late Inſtruments of our deſign'd Slavery, as a Tool to laſh, or turn into Ridicule, every Perſon and Thing that then ſtood, or was afterwards like to ſtand in oppoſition to the Arbitrary Deſigns then on foot. Here was another Misfortune like to overtake any body that ſhould Write for a Government in time coming: And they who were not acquainted with the Author of the *New Obſervator*, might be, I am afraid, inclinable to believe him a Tool in this Government, as he that wrote the Old one, was in the laſt. Which is ſo far a miſtake, that I here declare to all the world, *Neither any of the King's Miniſters, nor any about Him, did put me at firſt upon Writing; neither did they, nor any body elſe give me Inſtructions, Advice, or Aſſiſtance, in the continuing of it; far leſs did I write for Place or Penſion; but out of Zeal to a Settlement, that only could make theſe Three Nations happy.*

I have the honour to ſerve a Prince, *that neither uſes nor needs ſuch kind of Tools.* All his Actions carry along with them ſuch Impreſſions of Honour, as his very Enemies are not proof againſt: And there is one thing remarkable in Him, that perhaps cannot be trac'd in Hiſtory, *Never Prince has attain'd to be more Popular, and never Prince has uſed leſs Art to be ſo.*

I leave theſe Papers to take their fate; and ſhall make no other Apology for the Faults and Imperfections that may be found in them, than that moſt of them were written in a hurry of Buſineſs, and very ſeldom had I time to read them over after I wrote them. If any Party of Men think themſelves therein hardly treated, impute it to ſomething in my Nature, that's diametrically oppoſite to Bigotiſm; for if the extent of my Charity in point of Religion, were known, *perhaps ſome of the Bigots of the Age would be ready to ſtone me*: And I had rather err in the Exceſs, than in the Want of ſo neceſſary a Cement of Human Society.

I am afraid, I have ſaid too much of thoſe Papers, with relation to the Author: And being I am to take my leave of this kind of Writing, I beg leave to ſubjoin a few things with reference to the Papers themſelves, and to the ſubject-matter of them, *The preſent Circumſtances of Affairs in Chriſtendom.*

We are now in the Third Year of a War, in which moſt Nations of *Europe* are ſome one way or another concerned, but none more than theſe Three Kingdoms. It is now, that the Quarrel betwixt *France* and Us, is not the Re-inthroning of the late King *James*; for every body knows, that that Prince's Intereſt is quite out of doors with the *French* Court: But it's a Quarrel of a far other nature, that takes in all that a Nation can wiſh to regain or preſerve. In one word, either we muſt bring *France* to a condition not to be able to hurt us; or we muſt reſolve to ſee our ſelves deſpoyled of *our Glory, our Strength at Sea, our Trade, and our Plantations in* America; *if not to be reduced to the worſt of Fates, even that of receiving Laws from a ſevere Conqueror.*

The laſt Summer, the *French* play'd the Defenſive part, both at Sea and Land: But there's reaſon to believe, this Winter will not paſs without ſome Remarkable Attempt in War, upon their ſide; and whether that be ſo or not, we may aſſure our ſelves, it will not paſs without the mightieſt efforts that Crown ever made, to pave a way for a Peace with ſome of our Allies; *Spain* probably will be the laſt that ever will give ear to an Accommodation with *France*; but if the *French* can but gain any one of the Confederates, be ſure *England* will be the laſt they will make Peace with.

It's *England* that the *French* King has his eye upon, if not to make it a Conqueſt, at leaſt to render it inſignificant. He only wiſhes a Peace with the Confederates, that he may turn his whole Force againſt this Iſland: And his Emiſſaries give it out already in ſome Foreign Courts, That they may aſſure themſelves of a Peace with *France*, on what terms they pleaſe; all that he requires of them, being but to ask and have.

The *French* ſtick at nothing that can anywiſe favour their Deſign upon *England*. They ſpare no Coſt to get Intelligence of our Affairs; and they have fallen upon ſuch unerring Methods to obtain it, that they make no ſcruple now to brag openly of it: It is no wonder they ſhould, for they have had time to bring the Art of Bribing among us to Perfection, having practiſed it upon us to our eternal Reproach, for the ſpace of near Three whole ſucceſſive Reigns.

The *French* Court has it ſelf taken notice of the great difference in matter of *Intelligence of the Affairs of England*, betwixt what it was at the time of *Cromwel*'s Government, and in the Reigns which have hapned ſince: And I remember a late Author, when treating of this ſubject, gives a Reaſon that I leave to the Reader to judge of, without adding my own Opinion about it. *In* Cromwel's *time* (ſays he) *men ſerved their Countrey and the Government, out of a Principle of Religion; which Principle, tho in it ſelf mixed with a Thouſand Enthuſiaſms and falſe Lights, had yet this natural good effect attending it, That to diſcover the leaſt Secret of the Government, they look't upon as a Crime God would never pardon: And thence it was* (continues he) *That Cardinal* Mazarine *was pleaſed often to confeſs, he had more difficulty to get Intelligence of* Cromwel's *Deſigns, than of all the other Princes and States in* Europe *together.*

The Notions of Religion, tho never ſo miſtaken, are the ſureſt Tyes which poſſibly can bind men to the Intereſt of their Countrey: And thence it is, that the wiſeſt people among the *Ancients*, endeavoured always to *make the Rules of the Civil Government, depend on their Principles of Religion*: To this purpoſe I have often reflected in my mind, on the great Cunning and Politick in the frame of the *Mahometan Religion*; which was ſo contrived, as it could ſcarce have failed of extending it ſelf to that prodigious Growth that it has now attained in the world. *Mahomet* in his Syſtem of Divinity, (tho in a great many other things ſtrangely ridiculous) yet in the Methods to propagate both it and his Empire together, fell upon the Luckieſt Principle that ever was invented; viz. *That it was the chiefeſt, and moſt meritorious part of Religion, to extend the* Mahometan *Law by Force of Arms; and that whoever had the hap to dye either in the Propagation or Defence thereof, was ſure of Paradiſe.* It was this Notion alone that gave Wings to the Follies of *Mahomet*, which

which has ſince overſpread ſo conſiderable a part of the three great *Cantons* of the habitable world: And while this Political Maxim of Religion continues in its full force, it's next to an impoſſibility, that ever the Princes of the *Mahometan* Religion can be brought to any irrecoverable ebb of Fortune, by thoſe of a contrary Perſuaſion.

The Secreſy that viſibly attends the Meaſures of *France*, may be partly owing to a *Principle of Religion*, as well as *of Honour*. As they abhor the Baſeneſs of betraying their Maſter's Secrets, ſo they fear the Sin of it: And thus both Honour and Religion takes place with them: But how far both of theſe are wanting with ſome who pretend to a more Refined Syſtem of Theology, I leave it, as a melancholly Subject I love not to rip up at this time.

Tho *France* during the late Uſurpation of *Cromwell*, was greatly to ſeek in point of Intelligence of the *Engliſh* Affairs, as I have ſaid; yet *Cromwell* was not ſo, as to theirs: And I remember to have ſeen an Account of no leſs Sum than Ten Thouſand Pounds expended for meer Intelligence from *France*, for the ſpace but of Fifteen Months, audited and allowed by *Cromwell* himſelf, with this very Remark at the foot of it, *All well beſtowed*, written with his own hand.

I am the leſs aſtoniſh'd at the ſucceſs of the *French* Emiſſaries and Penſioners in *England*, when I conſider how far a dexterous Spy can inſinuate himſelf into the Secrets of a Court. Of this I could give ſeveral remarkable Inſtances from both Ancient and Modern Hiſtory: But I ſhall only mention *one* in the time of King *Charles*'s Exile. There was a Gentleman employed by *Cromwell*, as a Spy about the King, who had the Wit and Dexterity to get into his moſt Secret Tranſactions, and (as he was wont afterwards to ſay himſelf) *into his very heart*. In this unſuſpected and unlimited Intimacy did he continue for ſome years about the King; and might have done it longer, if an unexpected Accident, joined to a piece of Inadvertency in *Cromwell*, had not occaſioned the Period of his Intriegue and Life together: Which was thus:

The late Duke of *Richmond* having for a conſiderable time preſerved himſelf in the good opinion of the *Protector*, begg'd leave at length to make a ſtep over Sea, for his Health and Diverſion, as he pretended: *Cromwell* agreed to his Requeſt, but with this condition, *That he ſhould not ſee his Couſin* Charles Stuart, as he was pleaſed to call the King. The Duke coming to *Bruſſels*, and being reſolved to wait on his Prince, and withal to to ſave his Credit with *Cromwell*, was introduced in the moſt ſecret manner ſeveral times to the King in the dark. At his return, *Cromwell* pretended to ask the Duke only in jeſt, If he had been with *Charles Stuart*; who anſwering him, *That he had never ſeen him*; the other replied in a Paſſion, *It was no wonder, for the Candles were put out*. This unexpected anſwer put the Duke of *Richmond* to write to the King, That he muſt needs be betrayed by ſome in the greateſt Intimacy about him; and at laſt the Traytor was accidentally diſcovered in the very moment he was writing to *Cromwell* an account of the Duke of *Richmond*'s Letter to the King, and was thereupon ſhot to death upon the place.

It's more than time to ſhut up this Subject; and yet I know not but the Reader may forgive me, to mention further, a remarkable Paſſage that hapned upon this Reply of *Cromwell*'s to the Duke of *Richmond*; which as it was never yet committed to Print, for any thing I know; ſo it carries with it one of the trueſt Idea's we can ever attain of that Great Man's *Character*. Scarce was the Diſcourſe I mentioned betwixt *Cromwell* and the Duke of *Richmond* ended, but the firſt found he had committed a dangerous miſtake, in letting the Duke know how much he was acquainted with King *Charles*'s Secrets, and thereby expoſing his Spy to the narroweſt Enquiry could be made upon it: The fear of this, obliged him to go ſtrait to Secretary *Thurlo*'s Chamber, tho then very late; where, with the greateſt concern of mind, he told him what a wrong ſtep he had made, in his Diſcourſe with *Richmond*; and how much he fear'd the Perſon he employed as his Spy about the King, (naming him at the ſame time) might run the hazard of being diſcovered through ſo unlucky a piece of Inadvertence. When *Cromwell* came firſt in, he had both enquired, and was told by *Thurlo*, there was no body but them two in the room. But while *Cromwell* was walking up and down in the Chamber, in the reſtleſneſs of mind this affair had put him in, he eſpies one of *Thurlo*'s Clerks ſitting in a ſleeping poſture at a Writing-Desk, in a little Cloſet off the end of the Room; who indeed *Thurlo* had forgot was there: *Cromwell* fearing this Young-man might have heard what had paſt betwixt him and *Thurlo*, and thereby have come to know the name of his Spy at *Bruſſels*, inſtantly pulls out a Dagger, (which he wore for the moſt part under his Doublet) with a deſign to kill him dead on the ſpot, had not *Thurlo*, with great importunity, diſſuaded him from it, by aſſuring him, It was next to an impoſſibility, That the young man could hear what he had ſpoke, by reaſon of the lowneſs of his Voice; and withal, That having ſate up ſome four days be-

before, all of them together, without reſt, it was to be ſuppoſed he was then faſt aſleep all the time of their Diſcourſe. Thus did that Perſon eſcape, and lives in *England* to this day, who confeſſes he heard all that paſs'd betwixt *Cromwell* and *Thurlo* at that time, but uſed that artifice to deceive ſo jealous a Maſter, and ſave his own life.

How far the *French* Court gets Intelligence of our Affairs, and how far they gain by our follies, I ſhall not determine: But this muſt be confeſt, We could never have imagined that Crown ſhould have made ſo mighty a figure, in ſuch a complicated Juncture againſt it, if we had not ſeen it with our eyes. It's true, their Money has done more than their Arms; but the laſt they have made uſe of in *Flanders* to good purpoſe: And if we conſider what mighty diſadvantages the Confederates lye under, from the Weakneſs of the *Spaniſh* Frontier, and their want of Magazines in the Winter, (both which the *French* poſſeſs on their part) we will not think the Taking of *Mons* the beginning of the year, or what elſe the *French* ſhall do now before the Confederates can be in the Field, to be things of any extraordinary nature.

Tho it ſhould fall out, that all the Struggles for the Liberty of *Europe* ſhould end in *Slavery*; tho it ſhould happen, that the *French* Monarchy in the Period of the preſent War, ſhould gain the vertical point it has aimed at under the Reigns of its two laſt Kings; and in one word, Tho the Confederates ſhould be forced to ſtoop in this mighty Quarrel, to the Genius of *France*; none of all which, I hope, there is any great reaſon to fear; Yet the Character of the preſent King of *England*, will be handed down to Poſterity among the moſt Illuſtrious that ever was.

To Conquer, in the Poſture and Circumſtances the *French* King is in, *Is but the effect of Fortune*: But to have ſtruggled ſo magnanimouſly, and under ſo many ſeemingly irreſiſtible Difficulties as this King has done all along ſince he firſt entred the Stage, *Is the effect alone of a ſublime and extraordinary Virtue.* It's a pretty Paſſage a late *Author* gives us, of what paſt betwixt the King, when Prince of *Orange*, and Him, much to this purpoſe, and by which we may perceive the King's own Thoughts about the Difficulties he was at that time engaged with: After he had given our Author a ſhort Detail of the unlucky Circumſtances the Affairs of *Europe* were then in, and what was his ſhare in them, he was pleaſed to expreſs himſelf thus, *That notwithſtanding of all the unpromiſing Aſpects that threatned him in that War, yet for his part, he muſt go on, and take his Fortune. That he had ſeen that morning a poor old man tugging alone in a little Boat with his Oars, againſt the Eddy of a Sluce upon a Canal; That when with the laſt Endeavours he had got up to the Place intended, the force of the Eddy carried him quite back again; but he turned his Boat as ſoon as he could, and fell to his Oars again; and thus three or four times while the Prince ſaw him*: And concluded he, *The old man's buſineſs and mine are too like one another; and I ought however to do juſt as the old man did, without knowing what would ſucced, any more than what did in the poor man's caſe.*

Tho never Prince has had greater difficulties to encounter, never Prince has ſurmounted them with a greater Firmneſs of Mind: And all the *Strength of the* French, and *Weakneſs of the other Princes of Chriſtendom*, ſerve but the better to ſet off his Character. This I take for certain, *That either Providence has rais'd him up to break the Fetters of* Europe *at this Conjuncture, or that it will be ſaid of him, when gone, with far more reaſon, than of the Noble* Roman *of old*, Hic ſub mole immenſæ ſtragis jacet obrutus Ultimus Romanorum: *Here lies overwhelm'd under the weight of an Univerſal Ruin, the laſt of thoſe that deſerved the name of a* Roman.

They are little acquainted with the Tranſactions of the Age, that know not how greatly this Prince has been courted into the *French Intereſt*, and what tempting baits has been employed to catch him, long before he came to make the Figure he now does. His two *Uncles* thought it not below them, to be employed by the *French* King to turn him about at a time when it could ſcarce have been expected he could be proof againſt ſuch charming Offers as were then made him, conſidering the lowneſs of his Fortune. What Methods was afterwards uſed to remove off the Stage, a Prince they found *inexorable* to their Inſinuations, I ſhall not here relate, having a horror at the bare thoughts of them.

Whatever is in it, it's certain, The *French* King has in all his Conduct expreſt a more than ordinary concern, with relation to this King; and ſuch a hatred as is ſcarce to be found among thoſe of ſo elevated a Rank. Ambition and Glory uſes to be the grounds that animate Princes againſt one another: But the *French* King has in many Inſtances ſhewed his Deſigns to be chiefly levelled againſt the King's Perſon, and to terminate no ſhorter than his life.

All *Europe* ſaw and laught at the mighty Rejoicings were made in *France*, upon the *Falſe News, laſt year, of his Death.* And tho I am of Opinion, the *French* Court were not ſo long under that Deception, as they pretended to be, for Reaſons I hinted at in one of thoſe foregoing

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going Papers; yet there is one thing concurred to make the *French Miniſters* believe the reality of his Majeſty's Death, which we come to know but of late; and that was *the expected Succeſs of th t damnable Deſi n of one* JONES, *to Aſſaſſinate the King about that preciſe time.* By whom this Villain was chiefly ſet on to perpetrate ſo fatal a Blow, is not as yet, for any thing I know, come to light; but that he was to do it, and that *Tyrconnel* kept Correſpondence about it with *France*, is but too well known, by Letters under his own hand.

Our Plotters in *England* did again and again aſſure the late Queen, *Firſt, That the King's Affa rs would not leave him at liberty to take a Journey to* Ireland; and thereafter, when they ſaw he was going in earneſt, they aſſured her, *That before he could be well landed there, there would be a formidable Inſurrection here, which the few Forces the King was to leave behind him, would not be able to make head againſt.* Queen *Mary*, upon thoſe Aſſurances, and that of the Weakneſs of our Fleet, prevail'd with the *French* King to ſend out his Fleet to Sea, to countenance and back this imaginary Inſurrection. In all which, our Murmurers trick'd the late Queen, and ſhe again trick'd the *French* King; for neither had they the Courage to riſe, nor had ſhe ſo little reaſon as to hope it: But the Letter intercepted about that time to her from *Tyrconnel*, ſhews that ſhe and he was upon a ſhorter Project; and *one Aſſaſſine was to do, what all her Friends in* England *durſt not.*

Here it is I muſt beg leave to give my own Opinion, about one of the true Reaſons that I believe, prevailed with the *French* to be at the Charge of ſo mighty a Fleet juſt upon the certain News they had received of the King's being ready to embark for *Ireland*: For it was *then*, that Monſieur *de Tourville*, their Admiral, had firſt Orders to be ready to Sail. There has been probable-enough Reaſons given for this Attempt, both in ſome of the foregoing Papers, and in another that has made a great Noiſe in the World, under the Name of the **Modeſt Enquiry about the late Diſaſters in** England, *&c.* Which I am ſo far from contradicting, that I believe they concurred greatly to turn the *French* Counſels that way: But that accurſed Project of JONES being on foot at that time, and the concurring of ſo great probabilities of a change of Affairs, in caſe of its taking effect; there is no queſtion to be made, but that it help'd to caſt the Balance for ſetting out their Fleet at that preciſe Juncture.

The truth is, our Enemies at home could ſcarce be brought to believe, that the King could go for *Ireland*, in the Circumſtances his Affairs then ſtood. And indeed it was a bold, tho neceſſary ſtroke for the King to attempt it. King *James*'s Friends in *England* had aſſured him ſo poſitively of the impoſſibility of it, that the firſt ſure Intelligence he had of His Majeſty's Landing, was full eight days after he was actually there; for ſome of our Men being taken Priſoners in a Skirmiſh at *Leghbricklane*, the Commander was brought before the late King; and the firſt Queſtion that was put to him, was, *If the Prince of* Orange *was landed?*

It's hard to ſay whether *Jones* went over to *Ireland* with the King in order to perpetrate the Villany there he had miſs'd of here. But this is certain, *Tyrconnel* and the French *Generals* plac'd their laſt hopes in that Rogue's undertaking, after they heard the King was ſafe Landed. In a Letter about that time intercepted from *Tyrconnel* at *Ardee*, to the Late *Queen Mary*, he gave her a very melancholy account of their Affairs; tells her, *The Enemy was* 40000 *ſtrong, and furniſh'd with all things neceſſary. That the King* (meaning King James) *was for fighting, but he himſelf was againſt it*; and he concluded, *That notwithſtanding of all her care of their Affairs, he had now no hopes but in* Jones's *Negotiation.* Thus a Villain was appointed to put a ſtop to the Fortune of the Confederates, by one ſingle Blow againſt him, on whom the Confederacy chiefly depended: And thus Heaven warded off a Stroke, that carried with it the Fate of *Europe.*

This War with *France*, notwithſtanding of all the *Taxes* we are at to maintain it, is the only true *Meaſure* but one, that the *Engliſh* Crown has fallen into, as to Foreign Affairs, for the ſpace of more than half a *Century* of Years. It is true, we have entred into it, when our Enemies may be ſaid to be in the beſt Poſture they ever were in to deal with us: But whoſe fault it is that they are ſo, there is ſcarce any man of common ſenſe in *Chriſtendom* but knows; and over and above, The greater and ſtronger our Enemies are, the greater is the neceſſity of the War on our part.

The other *meaſure* that was taken for the true Intereſt of *England*, was the *Triple Alliance* betwixt *Us*, *Sweden*, and *Holland*; tho one of the Princes that entred into it, was never hearty in it. The breaking that *Alliance*, as it was the work of thoſe Five, call'd the *Cabal*, in concert with the *French* Court; ſo it was turn'd into another Alliance, the moſt unhappy and worſt deſign'd that ever the *Engliſh* Nation made. Good God! Who could imagine that *England* could have ever been wheedled into a *League* with *France*, againſt a *State* which our Intereſt it was to preſerve, and upon

whoſe ſtanding or falling, the Fortune of our King's only *Nephew* depended! All the Glory we got by that *Holland* War, was, that we began it with two of the moſt infamous Actions that ever was, *viz. The attempt upon the* Dutch *Smyrna Fleet*, and the *ſhutting up of the Exchequer*; and in the ſequel, we were roughly treated in the only Element was our part to deal with them in; at laſt after a great *Treaſure* ſpent only to agrandize *France*, and weaken our ſelves, *We were glad of a Peace.*

Upon the ending of this *Unlucky War*, the whole Nation groaned for *One* with *France*: The Parliament, the People, and moſt Princes and States about us, courted King *Charles* to enter into it: And indeed, if King *Charles* had yielded to them this Point, the *French* King had, in all human probability, been inevitably brought back to the *Treaty of the Pyrenees*, which was all the *Hollanders* and their Confederates aim'd at; and which is that alone, that both *then* and *now*, can ſecure the Peace and Safety of *Europe*: But alas! King *Charles* was too much in the ſnares of *France*, to hear any ſuch Propoſal: All he could be brought to, was to make an Offer of a bare *Mediation*; and even in this he was both jealous'd and ſlighted by the Parties engaged in the War; and at laſt had the Mortification to ſee, firſt, *The Peace betwixt* France *and* Holland *made (I may almoſt ſay) without his knowledg*; *and thereafter, That betwixt* France *and the Houſe of* Auſtria, *ſign'd by the Plenipotentiaries of thoſe Crowns, at* Nimeguen, *in ſuch a manner, that the* Engliſh *Ambaſſadors could not ſign it with them, for a Punctilio of Honour refus'd them by the Emperor.*

The comparing of the condition *France* was in then, and what it's *now*, obliges me to a Thought, that I am afraid few will agree to, it looks ſo like a Paradox: I am of opinion, that at that time when both we at home, and moſt people abroad, were ſo earneſt for our declaring War with *France*, *both the* French *and We were in a miſtake in our Apprehenſions of it.* It is not neceſſary I ſhould tell the mighty Succeſſes we promiſed to our ſelves againſt them: For how far we were to imitate, (if not to outdo) our Anceſtors in their ſo often-try'd Valour againſt that Nation, in their own Countrey, was the ordinary Talk then in *England*: But the truth was, we were not more confident of our own Succeſs, than the *French* themſelves were of it: *And the fear alone of our Declaring againſt them, brought them to a Peace.*

If we look back upon the Poſture of Affairs in *France* at that time, we ſhall find it was at leaſt as good as it's now in this Juncture; and conſequently they had rather leſs reaſon to be afraid of *Us then*, than they have *now*. They were, during the laſt War, ſafe and at eaſe on the *Italy* ſide; the *Duke of* Savoy, and the *Switz* being intirely in their Intereſts; the *Duke of* Bavaria was Neutral, or rather for the *French*; the *King of Sweden* not only declared for them, but obliged the *Duke of Brandenburgh*, one of the moſt Powerful of the Confederates, to return with his whole Forces from the *Rhine*, to defend his own *Lands* on the other ſide of *Germany*. Another powerful *Diverſion* they had obtained upon the *Spaniard*, by raiſing a formidable *Inſurrection* in *Meſſina*, which was like to ſpread it ſelf, not only through the reſt of *Sicily*, but into the Continent of *Italy* it ſelf, and therein the *Kingdom of* Naples. Not only were they thus well circumſtantiated abroad, but were much more ſo at home, in reſpect of what they are now. At that time, the *French* King was Maſter of ſome Hundred Thouſands of the beſt of his Subjects, whereof ſome Forty Thouſand were eſteemed the beſt Troops in his Armies; all whom, he has forced ſince to abandon both his Countrey and Service, and many of them to take part with the Confederates againſt him. And to add to all the advantages the *French* were in Poſſeſſion of, during the whole courſe of *that* War, tho they ſaw the *Engliſh* Nation were zealous to enter into it againſt them, yet they knew but too well, *That the King of* England *was their unalterable Friend, and would never be hearty in his People's Quarrel.*

Now how far in the courſe of this preſent War, the Circumſtances of *France* incline to the worſe, when compared to what they were during the *laſt*, we need no more but to call to mind theſe few things: Inſtead of being ſafe and eaſie on the *Italy* ſide, as they were *then*, they are *now* in War there: *Savoy* being their declared Enemy, and making a conſiderable Effort upon that Quarter: Inſtead of the *Switz*'s being openly for them, as they were *then*, they are *now* Neutral at beſt: The *Duke of Bavaria*, inſtead of being their Friend, as *then*, he is *now* one of the firmeſt and ſincereſt of the Confederacy againſt them. Not only is *Sueden* not declared for them, but both they and the other *Northern* Crown has aſſiſted the Confederacy with their Troops, and has been proof againſt all Inſinuations to gain them to the *French* Intereſt, or ſo much as to recal their Forces: The Crown of *Spain* lies under the weight of no diverſion by the *French*, on any ſide but that of *Catalonia*, which was likewiſe their caſe the laſt War.

But if the *French* are *now* in no better circumſtances with reſpect to their Affairs Abroad, than they were in the time of the laſt War, it's beyond all queſtion, their Circumſtances

ſtances at Home admit of a great many unlucky aggravations, that render them a great deal worſe *now*, than they were *then*: Their Countrey is exhauſted and impoveriſh'd beyond expreſſion: Some Hundred thouſands of that People who made the greateſt Figure in their Wars, have now ſetled themſelves, and all they could carry with them, *elſewhere*: And of theſe, a great many do now help to compoſe the Confederate Troops; and none long more to enter into their Countrey again, with Swords in their hands, than they: The Diſcontents in *France* are raiſed to a prodigious height, in reſpect of what they were ſome years ago: And in ſhort, tho the *French* were ſufficiently miſerable *then*, they are inexpreſſibly *now* much more ſo. And to caſt the balance for altogether betwixt the two Junctures of the Wars we are treating of; Inſtead of a King on the Throne of *England*, *the* French *were aſſured of*, they have now to deal with one, *that's entirely in the Intereſt of* England, *and who when under a leſs figure, ſcorn'd to be their Friend, as long as they prov'd themſelves to be the Common Enemy, and Great Diſturbers of* Chriſtendom.

There is but two things that ſeem to be more promiſing for the *French*, in the preſent War, than was in their Caſe during the laſt; and that is, *The War in which the Emperor is engaged with the* Turks; and *the* French *being poſſeſſed of more Towns in* Flanders *and* Germany, *than they were then*: But laying even theſe in the Balance with thoſe diſadvantages I have named, I hope I am not altogether out of my reckoning, in ſaying, their Caſe is at leaſt no better *now*, than it was *then*.

All this compariſon I have made for two Reaſons, 1. To ſhew it was not ſo eaſie to make Head againſt *France*, eſpecially in an Offenſive War, as ſome people imagined at firſt: And 2*dly*, That in all human probability, we may *expect either now to bring* France *to Reaſon*, or we *ſhall never do it*: And if we do it not, then it's impoſſible to foreſee the Thouſandth part of the Miſeries that attend *England*; ſince that is the mark that moſt of the Deſigns of *France* are levell'd againſt.

He that's at pains to reflect upon that prodigious turn of Affairs in *Holland* in the year 1673. when after the *French* had render'd themſelves Maſters of ſo great a part of theſe *Provinces*, that *Amſterdam was within one Ace of ſending the Keys of their City to the* French *King, then at* Utrecht; The Prince of *Orange*, at the age of Twenty one years, with a handful of Men, and thoſe new-rais'd, and ill-diſciplin'd, did *put a ſtop to that mighty Torrent, and in a few months not only oblig'd the* French *King, in the height of all his Glory, to quit all his Conqueſts on that ſide, but by a miracle of Bravery and Conduct, carried the War to the Frontiers of* France *it ſelf*; I ſay, He that is at pains to conſider all this, and at the ſame time, the inſuperable Difficulties this young Prince lay then under, He may from the juſteſt methods of Reaſoning conclude, That in all probability, *The ſame Prince, when at the head of Three Kingdoms, as well as of the Armies of* Holland, *and the Confederates, may outdo what at that time all the World thought utterly impoſſible to be done.*

Our Malecontents in *England* would fain flatter themſelves with hopes that the *Hollanders* may come to be wearied of this War, and that they may be brought to enter into terms of Accommodation with *France*, rather than to continue it much longer, at ſo vaſt a charge, and under ſo many diſcouragements in their Trade. Of this, I ſee, by ſome of their late Pamphlets, they would fain perſuade themſelves and others from what happen'd in the laſt War, when the *Hollanders* made up a *ſeparate Peace* with *France*. But though it were a juſt ſtandard of Reaſoning to judge of what will be, for what has been, (as it is not) yet even as to this former Conduct of the *Hollanders*, Theſe Gentlemen are mightily out: And their hopes are laid not only upon the weakeſt, but upon the falſeſt Foundation. Which will appear, if they be at the pains to conſider the Circumſtances that oblig'd the *States* to enter into that Separate Peace.

The joint *Declaration of War* againſt them by the *Engliſh* and *French*, in the year 1672. was a Thunderclap they leaſt of all ſuſpected, and were leaſt of all provided againſt. The Houſe of *Orange*, which had for ſome Generations together been the *Tutelary Genius* of their *State*, was now under an Eclipſe; And through the unlucky Conduct of a contrary Faction, the Corner-ſtone of the *Belgick* Government, *I mean the Office of Statholder*, was aboliſh'd. This paramount-Error brought in a thouſand more; And their Military Affairs at Land were never in ſo miſerable a condition, for want of both Officers and Soldiers that knew any thing in War. It was no wonder then, that People under this circumſtance, ſhould rather incline to *run the Ship aſhore at any rate, than to venture to keep her out at Sea in ſo ill hands.*

But upon their returning back to their true *Baſis*, in Reſtoring the young Prince of *Orange* to the place his Anceſtors had poſſeſſed with ſo much glory, and upon their committing to him the ſhatter'd Relicks of ther Armies, they bore up the War with heart enough, eſpecially being ſteel'd with the Prince's admirable Conduct; and was ſo far from patching up a Peace with *France*,

(though

(though they had wiſely done it both for them and Us with *England*) that they continued it without interruption from the year 1672, incluſive, till the year 1679. being near ſeven years.

Even then, the *Hollanders* had notwithſtanding continued the War longer, if three unhappy things had not interven'd. 1*ſt*, They were fain to loſe their Trade; and the rather, that the *Engliſh*, their Rivals in it, was at peace with all the Nations about them; And when once Trade quits its wonted Channel for another, they conſider'd how hard a difficulty it is to bring it back again. 2*dly*, The Authority of the Prince of *Orange* was but in its Infancy; and the Seeds of Jealouſie that had been ſowing by the Emiſſaries of *France*, for the tract of ſeveral years, were not yet quite rooted out. Thence it was the Peace betwixt them and *France*, was rather from the hot inſtances of the *Populace*, ſet a work by the Prince's ſecret Enemies, than the effect of a ſedate inclination in the Members that compos'd the *States-General*. But there was a 3*d* Reaſon that I believe prevail'd more with the *Hollanders* to make up that Separate Peace, than all the reſt, and that was, *The unſteady and ſuſpected meaſures of* England *during the whole courſe of that Affair*. King *Charles* they knew too well, to believe he would ever heartily eſpouſe the Common Intereſt againſt that of *France*: And yet, they again and again declared to his Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, That if he would give them ſuch aſſurances as they could rely on, of *his Declaring immediately againſt* France, as his Parliament would have had him to do, they would continue the War, coſt what it would. It was then, King *Charles*'s fault rather than that of the *Hollanders*, that they made up that ſeparate Peace; And yet at their making it, *they made ſuch proviſions for* Spain *and the other Confederates, that naturally made way for a general one, which followed upon it*.

If we take a view of the circumſtances that the *Hollanders* are in at preſent, eſpecially with an eye to theſe *three Motives* which induced them to put an end to the laſt War by a *ſeparate Peace*; we ſhall find there is not the leaſt imaginable ground to fear they will fall upon ſuch Meaſures in this War, as they did in the former. For *Firſt*, Though by the continuance of this War, their Trade muſt needs be impair'd; yet they are in no hazard (as they were during the laſt War) of loſing it, after a general Peace comes once to be concluded: Conſidering that the *Engliſh*, who are the only Rivals they have reaſon to ſuſpect on that head, are in the ſame Circumſtances with themſelves. 2*dly*, The King of *England*'s Intereſt in *Holland*, as their *Statholder*, was never ſo great as it is at this very moment: The contrary Faction that oppos'd him in the progreſs of the laſt War, is either now changed for him, or become ſo inſignificant, as not to be able to counterballance the hundredth part of the other Scale. And 3*dly*, That fatal diſcouragement which attended all the former ſteps made for the Liberty of *Europe*, *from the temper and management of King* Charles *the* 2*d*, is now out of doors: And the jealouſies the *Hollanders* entertain'd of that Prince (notwithſtanding of all his Proteſtations to the contrary) are now buried with him in his Grave.

By all that I have ſaid, and by a great many other things I have not time to ſay, It may appear to any body of common ſence; that the *Hollanders* are in no hazard of wearying in this War, ſo ſoon as ſome Ill-affected Perſons would imagine: And no People have given greater proofs of their zeal to the common Safety of *Chriſtendom*; nor taken truer and juſter methods to that end, than they have done all along.

But there is one demonſtration that ſhews the hearty Affection and Zeal of the *Hollanders* to carry on this War; and which ought perhaps to put ſome other People that are as much concern'd as they, to the Bluſh. They do at this very moment give to the maintenance of this VVar, three times more in proportion to what we do in *England*, as to *Impoſts* on their Trade and Chattels: And as to Taxes on their Lands and Houſes, they pay willingly in ſome *Provinces* above the real value, and in moſt about *three parts of four*. Notwithſtanding of all which, there is no uneaſineſs to be ſeen or felt among them, upon that ſcore; and which is the more wonderful, that they depend on Trade for *their neceſſary ſuſtentation*, which we do not in *England*.

But I am afraid to have ſaid too much on this ſubject of the carriage of King *Charles* and the *Hollanders* in the laſt War; Conſidering how lately that Excellent Perſon Sir *William Temple*, has given us an Account thereof in his *Memoirs*. A Book upon which we can never place a ſufficient Value, whether we conſider the *Matter* or the *Stile*: And wherein, together with the many ſecret *Hinges* on which Affairs of that time did move: VVe have the exacteſt and juſteſt *Idea* of the preſent King ſet forth to the life; and ſuch an Idea, as agrees with the whole matters of fact; and that renders him a *Prince of the greateſt Juſtice, Honour and Foreſight*, that can be inſtanc'd in Hiſtory.

I muſt confeſs, the Character and Account that Learned Gentleman gives of the King, meets

meets so close with those Transactions of his Life that has hapned since, that one would be almost tempted to think, the Book had either been written, or at least lick'd over again, after this late *Revolution* in *England* was brought about. But so far was it from being so, that it's committed now to the Press, just as it came from the Author's Pen, several years before this Revolution was either thought upon, or the least occasion for it; and that without his Knowledg or Review, or the least *Alteration*, *Addition*, or *Deduction* of any one single sentence through the whole.

In reading these Curious *Memoirs*, and the part His Majesty has in them, it brought to my mind a Book of *Monsieur Aubery's*, printed at *Paris* in *French*, Twelve Years ago, with Approbation of the *French* King, intituled, *Memoirs pour servir a l'Histoire de* Holland; *Memoirs to give light to the History of* Holland: In which there is a *Character* given of the present King, in a few words, that rather outdoes than falls short of Sir *William Temple's*. And because *Monsieur Aubery* is both an Author of great Account, and much more, that the very Design of the Book it self is mighty unfavourable to the Family of *Orange*, and he as much an Enemy to the present King as can well consist with the Temper of an Historian; I beg leave to do the ungrateful part of a Translator, as to some Passages in it: Let us hear therefore what a *French-man*, a *Roman-Catholick*, *an Enemy of the then Prince* of Orange, *and of his House*, *and an Idolater of the present* French *King*, tells us of the Affairs of *Holland*, during the last War, and His Majesty's part therein; and withal, let us pardon an Air of Vanity that naturally attends a *French* Author, when he writes of his King.

In *Page* 300, of these *Memoirs*, he has these words, as near as I can give them in *English*.

This young Prince (meaning the present King, then Prince of *Orange*) *has from his Infancy given the greatest Marks of his Reservedness and Moderation: His Prudence augments as he grows up in years: And all that pretend to know any thing of Merit, that are acquainted with him, do agree in this, That never Prince has given the world greater hopes of himself. He endured with the profoundest Dissimulation* (pardon the Expression from an Enemy) *the Injuries of the* Barnevalt *Faction, restored in the Persons of the two* De Witts; *waiting with a Patience and Taciturnity, even beyond that of his Great Grandfather, Prince* William *of* Orange, *the Advantages of Time, and a favourable occasion for his own Re-establishment; for being deprived by a solemn Edict, of all the great Employments of his Family, after the sudden Death of his Father, he came to be re-established in them by a contrary Edict the beginning of this War.*

He was obliged for his Restoration, to France; *which having about seven years ago made the greatest Conquests that has been heard of in so short a time, the most part of the Frontier Towns of the United Provinces, and many of their Capitals*, Utrecht *and* Zutphen, *among others, rendred themselves at the first view of our Troops: Tho those Places were provided of great Garisons, yet being composed of Officers and* Soldiers *without skill, the King* (meaning the *French*) *saw himself Master of above Forty Places, in less than Two Months time; and found himself so overwhelm'd with Success, not only above his Hopes, but Wishes, that he might say with* Cæsar, Veni, Vidi, Vici, *I came, I saw, I overcame. These Thunderclaps, that presag'd yet others worse to come, and which put the* Hollanders *to the greatest Consternation, gave occasion to the People to complain of the ill Conduct of the* De Witts, *and furnished a just Cause for the Friends of the House of* Orange *to say, That there was none capable to sustain their Tottering State, nor to defend them against that Powerful Enemy, but the Princes of that Family: And that as they had protected them before against the Tyranny of* Spain, *there was no others able to save them from the Thunder of* France.

The Grandmother of the present Prince, a Woman of a Masculine Courage, that had endured, with the greatest impatience, the low Ebb of that House, which she had once seen in the greatest Splendour, took pains to gather together all the best Friends and Dependants of the Name of Nassau; *which were very numerous. These People, displeased at their being turned out of all the Employments in their State, and to see them in the hands of the Children of the Burgomasters; and being back'd with the Fury of all the rest that lov'd their Countrey, and saw themselves under the hazard of present Destruction, by a Victorious Army in the bowels of their Countrey, they came as to their last Sanctuary, to restore the present Prince to the Possession of all the Dignities his Ancestors had enjoyed; that is, of Captain, and Admiral, General, and Stadtholder; which were thereupon entail'd on his Family for ever, by a Solemn and Unanimous Decree.*

This ſame Author comes afterwards to tell us, that before this re-eſtabliſhment of the Prince of *Orange*, *The* Holland *Troops were ſuch ſort of creatures, that places wherein there were Five Thouſand Foot, and Eight Hundred Horſe in Gariſon, would render themſelves Priſoners of War at the firſt approach of the* French, *without making the leaſt Reſiſtance. And that Fifty* Reiſters *of* Munſter, *would put ordinarily to Flight Three Hundred of the* Dutch *Horſe, that fled before them as ſo many Sheep before a Wolf.*

But *Page* 311. Returning to ſpeak of the preſent King, and his Part in the War after his Re-eſtabliſhment, he expreſſes himſelf thus: *The Prince of* Orange *ſaw himſelf at the Age of Twenty One Years at the head of an Army, as his Great Grandfather* William *of* Orange *had been at the ſame Age under the Emperor* Charles *the 5th. And in the whole courſe of this War, he made appear to the World, ſo much Conduct and ſo much Bravery in a great many Rancounters, Battels and Seiges, as certainly far ſurmount the Actions of his Renowned Anceſtors, who had ſet a Copy for Two Hundred Years together, for the greateſt Captains to imitate: If he had not had the unhappineſs to be born in the Age of* Lewis le Grand, *whoſe Power, Genius and Fortune, admits of no ſtop. This Young Hero* (continued He) *with a few Troops haſtily Levied, and but ill Diſciplin'd, had the Courage to make head againſt this great Monarch, in the height of his Fortune: And his Conduct and Perſonal Valour in Battel made Victory for ſome hours incline to his ſcale, till at laſt he had the conſolation, not to have Yielded but to the Greateſt Prince on Earth; And it may be juſtly ſaid of him, tho an Enemy, That nothing but ſo Glorious a Sun, could leſſen the Rays of this Riſing Star.*

Thus far *Monſieur Aubrey*, and compairing them with what Sir *William Temple* has ſaid on theſe heads, it's hard to ſay, who has ſaid moſt for his Honour, *the King's Friend or his Enemy.*

It's almoſt incredible, what influenee the *French* continue to have at the *Ottoman Port*, notwithſtanding of all the falſe Marches they have made there of late. When the *Grand Vizier* came laſt from *Conſtantinople*, in his Journey for *Adrianople*, he gave the *French Ambaſſadour* all the marks of his diſpleaſure, telling him openly, *That he found he had all along the courſe of his Negotiation, miſrepreſented to him both Perſons and things; and that he was now ſufficiently perſwaded of his unfair dealing towards his Maſter and him, eſpecially with reſpect to the falſe accounts he had always given of the* French *King's Progreſs in the War againſt the Emperor on the other ſide.* His reſentment againſt the Ambaſſadour went ſo far, as to forbid him to accompany him to *Adrianople*, or to ſtir from *Conſtantinople* till his Return.

All this, and a great many other Accidents that happened afterwards, gave the World fair appearances of a ſpeedy *Peace* betwixt the Emperor and the *Turks*: But now the *Treaty* looks at a greater diſtance, than it did ſome Months ago. It's impoſſible to determine exactly, upon what motives the *Turks* are ſo backward; for if we look into the condition of their own affairs, we cnnnot but conclude, it's their Intereſt to do it as ſoon as they can. That the *French* employ *Golden Arguments* with the *Turkiſh Miniſters* to continue the War, I ſuppoſe there is no body that calls it in queſtion: And yet that this method alone, ſhould byaſs them ſo much contrary to their Intereſt, it's very hard to imagine, unleſs there be other *Arts* uſed to back it.

That the *French* King has all along buoy'd up his Intereſt, both at home, and with moſt Courts abroad, by the artifice of *Falſe News and Papers*, every body that's acquainted with any thing of the *Tranſactions* of the time, know it ſufficiently. Tho there may be leſs Policy, and more Difficulty to impoſe *Falſe News*, much more *Papers*, on the Civilized Nations of *Europe*, where Learning takes place: Yet That it is eaſy enough to do it among the *Aſiaticks*, and other Barbarous Nations, who muſt take all our *European Diſpatches* and *Memoirs* upon truſt; The late cheats of that kind put upon the King of *Siam*, and ſome other Princes in *India* by the *French Emiſſaries*, puts it out of doubt.

The effronted Lyes and *ſuppoſititious Credentials* and other Papers, with which they have impoſed upon ſeveral Princes in *Aſia*, an extravagant Notion of the Greatneſs of the *French* Monarchy, beyond that of any the *Four Univerſal Empires*, and withal, a contemptible opinion of the *Hollanders* and other People that Trade into thoſe Parts, are a great many of them come to be known and laught at in *Europe*. Now it being the Principle of the *French* Court to uſe this ſort of *Artifice*, eſpecially at Courts where the Cheat is not ſo likely to be diſcovered; and it being ſo much their Intereſt to do it now at the *Ottoman Port*; we have all the reaſon in the World to conclude, That to other artifices, and the force

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of Money, they have added that of ſome *Papers, Diſpatches, or things of that nature*, made up of purpoſe to ſerve their turn in ſo weighty a matter, as this of obliging the *Turks* to continue the War, notwithſtanding of ſo many motives that ſeem to conſpire together to induce them to make up a ſpeedy Peace.

This conjecture, though never ſo harſh, will yet appear the more probable, if we conſider how far the *French* have ventur'd of late upon *Artifices* of the ſame kind in *France* it ſelf, and which they have had the confidence to impoſe upon their *Neighbours* for *authentick Truths*. It's well known, That the *Treaty of the Pyrenees* was ſcarce a Year old, when the *French* King began to ſhew his deſign to break it, which he had indeed reſolved on the very time he Swore it. *Flanders* and the *French County* was in his eye, notwithſtanding of the Articles in the Treaty, and in the *Contract of Marriage* with his Queen to the contrary. In order to this, he was to trump up *Claims* to theſe Countreys, *as dependances of the Crown of* France: and to back theſe Claims, it was neceſſary that *Original Records and Inſtruments* muſt either be *found out*, or *made up*. The firſt was impoſſible, for what never was, could never be found; and therefore the ſecond was fallen upon. To accompliſh which ſo Honourable a project, there was, and is yet, a certain number of Men ſet a work to Counterfeit ſeveral Old *Records, Deeds, Genealogies* and other *Pieces*, to prove ſuch and ſuch *Claims*, to ſuch and ſuch particular Lands: And as there is in ſome places of *Italy*, a kind of Men who take up a Trade of Counterfeiting *Ancient Medals*, and that ſo near, that it's hard to diſtinguiſh them from true ones; So there is a Society of Men employed now in *France*, to Counterfeit *Old Parchments and Papers* in order to aſſert their King's imaginary *Rights*, ſo as if not now, yet ſome Ages hence, they may come to paſs for *Authentick*, and of the very time they are Dated. If then the *French* Court have the freedom to impoſe ſuch groſs Cheats upon more Civiliz'd Nations, and their neareſt Neighbours; It will be no great breach of Charity to ſuſpect them capable of ſo doing, towards a People of ſo little Learning, and at ſo great a diſtance as the *Turks*.

As the *French* have taken up a Trade of late to falſifie and counterfeit *Papers and Records*; ſo it's juſt I here take occaſion to mention another they have fallen on, *of counterfeiting Hiſtory*. Every body will agree with me in this, That there can be no greater Injury done to Mankind in general, but eſpecially to Poſterity, than to handle down to ſucceeding Ages, *Poſitive Falſhoods for Truths*; and to do this not ſo much out of Ignorance, as a real Deſign, that both the preſent, and much more the Generations to come, ſhall have falſe Notions of the Tranſactions they treat of. Of this Diabolical Practice (for it deſerves no better name) all the Hiſtories almoſt of this and the laſt Age, that have been Printed in *Paris* theſe Thirty Years paſt are full. Not to mention either the *Paramount Hiſtory*, that Monſieur *Pelliſon* is juſt now a writing, of the Life of *Lewis le Grand*, which will certainly be nothing elſe but a complication of Untruths, and a fulſom Panegyrick on the *French* King: Nor need I name the ſeveral Hiſtories that *Maimburg, Varillas*, and other of that King's *Penſioners* have impoſed on the world of late; I ſhall only take notice of one for all, and that a Hiſtory printed but the laſt year at *Paris*, and this year in *Holland*, I mean the *Life of Cromwell*. One would have thought that no man would have ſo far ventured his Reputation, as to trace ſo many impertinent Lyes as this Book abounds with, and which ſo many Thouſands of People yet alive know to be ſo: And yet the Author is a perſon of a paſſing good Character in *France*, and the Book is dedicated to no leſs a man than the Learned *Biſhop of Meaux*, and paſſes among the moſt of the Nations abroad for a *True Hiſtory*.

I am of opinion, there is not in this whole pretended Hiſtory, one ſingle Page without ſome one or two groſs miſtakes, if not wilful Errors; and to name them all, were to Copy over the whole Book, Only to give a hint of the reſt from theſe few, the Author will needs have *Cromwell* to *have been a Prebendary, and of Biſhop* William's *Faction againſt* Laud; which Faction he ſays, aroſe on the *debate betwixt the two Archbiſhops for Precedence* (an affair ſome Ages older than *Cromwell*:) In ſhort, there is not one ſingle *Syncroniſme* right in the whole Book, from the beginning to the end, witneſs one for all, *He makes Duke* Hamilton's *Expedition into* England, *to have fallen out in the Year* 1644. *and King* Charles *the* Firſt, *to have rendred himſelf to the* Scots *Three Years after.*

I would not have mentioned this Book, if I thought it not conducing to the *Common-wealth of Letters*, but eſpecially to *Strangers*, to know this late practice of the

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French Writers, that thereby they may not ſwallow all they write upon Truſt.

Being upon this ſubject of *Counterfeiting Diſpatches and Papers*, I could inſtance a great many *Remarkable Events* that have been owing to that kind of *Artifice*, both in Ancient and Modern Times; from the knowledg of which, it ſeems the *French* are the more imboldened to try the Experiment. But there hapned one of the ſignalleſt effects in *Britain*, of an Artifice of this nature, ſome Fifty years ago, that tho it be quite foreign to the purpoſe, yet *the Strangeneſs of it, the mighty Conſequences that attended it, and it's lying hitherto among the Secrets of our Hiſtory*, will obtain me the Reader's Pardon, to give the Story of it in ſhort.

Every body, I believe, is acquainted with the Riſe of thoſe unhappy *Commotions*, that ſhook this Iſland during the Reign of King *Charles* the Firſt; and knows where to lodg them: Both Nations were diſcontented, and the Flame roſe in *Scotland*, which propagated it ſelf at laſt to *England*; and our Hiſtorians have taken care to give us all the Publick Steps of thoſe unhappy Tranſactions, but not without Partiality on ſome one ſide or another. But there was one *Secret Hindge*, on which the *Scotch Second Invaſion* moved, that has never to this day been committed to Print, and which is a notable demonſtration, *upon how ſmall and unſeen Springs, the greateſt Revolutions in the Affairs of the World do oftentimes turn.*

When King *Charles* was induced to enter into *Terms of Treaty* with the *Scots* at *Rippon*, ſome of the *Engliſh Nobility* that had been very Inſtrumental to bring the King to an *Accommodation*, and thereby deſerved well of the *Scots*, found a great *Coolneſs* and Uneaſineſs in the *Scotch Commiſſioners* towards them, notwithſtanding they had deſerved ſo well of that Countrey. The *Treaty* being at laſt concluded, and the *Scots* fully pleaſed with the *Terms*, one of the *Engliſh Noblemen* being very deſirous to know the Reaſon of that *Coolneſs* that had, during the whole Courſe of the *Treaty*, appeared in the *Scots*, was reſolved, if poſſible, to find it out. To this end, having invited the *Earl of Rothes*, and the reſt of the *Scotch* Noblemen that had managed the *Treaty*, to Dinner, he fell upon the matter of *Their coming into* England, and how happily the Differences betwixt the King and Them had been made up; and withal, how happy he thought himſelf in promoting ſo good an Agreement: At length he concluded, *with the uneaſineſs he was in on the acconnt of the Coolneſs he had always found in the* Scotch *Noblemen towards him, notwithſtanding of his great Zeal and Succeſs in ſerving them with the King, and in the whole courſe of the Treaty:* The *Earl of* Rothes anſwered, *He thank'd his Lordſhip for the good Offices he and the reſt of the* Engliſh *Commiſſioners had done his Countreymen both with the King, and in the Treaty: But he was aſtoniſhed to hear his Lordſhip inquire the ground of his and his Collegues Coolneſs towards him, and ſome of the* Engliſh *Peers there preſent: For* (ſays he) *it was your Lordſhip and They, that Invited us at firſt into* England, *and promiſed to join with us as ſoon as we were on* Engliſh *Ground; and yet notwithſtanding, your Lordſhip, and They, were ſo far from making good your promiſe, that you appear'd in Arms againſt us.* The *Engliſh* Noblemen being ſurpriſed at this anſwer; at length the *Earl of Rothes* pull'd out of his pocket a *Letter ſigned by Seven or Eight of the chief of the* Engliſh Nobility, directed to him the Earl of *Rothes*, in name of the reſt of his Countreymen, *Inviting them into* England, *and promiſing to come in to them upon their entring this Kingdom.* Which Letter was yet a matter of greater aſtoniſhment, when it was found a Counterfeit one; and that a certain *Engliſh* Nobleman then preſent, (who is dead, and his Family extinct long ago) confeſs'd himſelf to have done it. This *Letter* has had the luck to be oftner than once printed in ſeveral Hiſtories of that time for a true one; and, I believe, I am the firſt that have publickly advanc'd it to have been *falſe*; Being ſafe in what I have ſaid about it, from the knowledge of two or three Noblemen yet alive, whoſe Hands are at it, and who are much better acquainted with the whole Story, than I poſſibly can.

To leave ſo long a digreſſion, and put an end to this *Appendix*, I ſhall only add a few words concerning two *Paſſages* in the foregoing *Obſervators*, that has made a great noiſe in the World, and which both Honour and Juſtice obliges me to clear.

The firſt is about what I wrote of a Book printed in *French* ſome fourteen Months ago (if I miſtake not the time) Intituled, *Avis aux Refugés ſur leur prochain Retour en* France. *An Advice to the* French *Refugees upon their expected return to* France. This Book has occaſion'd a great many *others*, by way of *Anſwers* and *Replies*, betwixt two of the Learnedſt Men of the *French* Nation;

Nation, Monſieur *Jurieu*, and Monſieur *Bale*; And therein the *Conſiſtory* of the *French* Church at *Rotterdam* has been oblig'd to concern themſelves.

Monſieur *Jurieu* has poſitively accus'd Monſieur *Bale* of being the Author of this Book, and to have written it of concert with a *Cabal* of other *French Penſioners* ſet awork by the Court of *France*. I ſhall not meddle in the Debate betwixt thoſe two Great Men, any further than concerns my ſelf. In one of my *Obſervators*, I mention'd this Book, which has occaſion'd ſo much heat; and ſaid, *It was concerted by the* French *Court, and that I knew the Author.* This was long before there was the leaſt word of Conteſt betwixt Monſieur *Jurieu*, and Monſieur *Bale*: But ſome months thereafter, the Debate growing hot betwixt them, the one affirming, the other denying with equal paſſion; It fell out that Monſieur *Bale*, among other Arguments brought by him to prove his Innocence, adduced that Paſſage in the *New Obſervator*, wherein the Author gave a hint of the *Advis aux Refugés* being concerted with the *French* Court, and of his ſaying, *He knew the Author of it*; And thence concluded, *That ſince the Author of the Obſervator knew the Author of the* Avis aux Refugeés, *and that Monſieur* Bale *and the Author of the* Obſervator *was not acquainted together, Therefore Monſieur* Bale *was not the Author of the* Avis aux Refugeés.

This Argument of Monſieur *Bale*'s, and ſome Papers written ſince by Monſieur *Jurieu*, obliges me to give here a true Account of what I know of this Affair, leaving theſe two learned Perſons to make what uſe of it on either ſide they think fit: And this I do the more willingly, that Monſieur *Jurieu* has been pleaſed in ſeveral Letters to Perſons of Note in *England*, to ſignify his grief for ſome miſtaken Expreſſions he had us'd towards me in one of his late Books on that ſcore.

This Book *Avis aux Refugeés* had ſcarce appeared in *France*, and was not yet ſeen in *England*, when from a Worthy and Noble Perſon in *France*, ſince in Chains for his Religion, I had an account both of the Book it ſelf, of its being concerted with the *French* Court, and that every body in *Paris* looked upon *Monſieur Pelliſon* as the Author of it. In return of a letter of mine in Anſwer to his, my Friend told me, *That according to my deſire, he had employed one that was intimately acquainted with Monſieur* Pelliſon, *to inquire of him the truth of that common report:* And that Monſieur *Pelliſon was pleas'd to allow the Perſon that ſpoke to him, to think him the Author, though he would not poſitively confeſs he was ſo; adding, that it was not fit for him, or for the King's ſervice, to acknowledge that Book publickly to be his, though he were the Author of it.* In ſhort, this Worthy Gentleman gave me both his own and the univerſally received opinion at *Paris*, That *Monſieur Pelliſon* was the Author of the *Avis aux Refugées*, and backed it with a great many probable arguments, needleſs here to be mentioned.

The Book it ſelf appearing here in *London* a little after, I took occaſion to mention what my Friend told me about it, and withal, upon his Information ſaid, *I believe I knew the Author*, meaning *Monſieur Pelliſon*, with whom I was a little acquainted at *Paris* Nine Years ago. In one word, I was the firſt that ever mentioned in Print, *That that Book was concerted with the* French *Court*, or that it was *written by a* French *Emiſſary*; And was very glad to find ſo Learned and Fam'd a Man as *Monſieur Jeurieu*, to Print a Book ſome Months thereafter deſignedly to prove at length what I had but hinted at in an *Obſervator*; though at the ſame time was ſorry that any *French* Proteſtant, much more one of *Monſieur Bale*'s parts, ſhould be accuſed for it: And this is all I know of an affair that has employed the Preſs in *Holland* for near a Year together.

The other *Paſſage* I think my ſelf obliged to clear, is, about *a Letter from King* James the *Firſt, to Doctor* Abbot, *concerning the Canons of Biſhop* Overals *Convocation*; of which Letter I publiſh'd an exact *Copy* in one of the Obſervators. The Learned *Dr. Sherlock's* late Book of *The Caſe of the Allegiance due to Soveraign Powers. Stated and Reſolved*, &c. that laid ſuch weight on this *Convocation-Book*, was the occaſion of my making ſome Reflections both upon the *Convocation* it ſelf, and the reaſons of *its being call'd, of its medling with ſo nice points, as the Rights of Kings, and why the Canons made therein, were never inforc'd with the Royal Aſſent.* Several *Pamphlets* written againſt Dr. *Sherlock* ſince that time, has endeavour'd to leſſen the Credit of this *Letter* to Dr. *Abbot*: And ſome have been ſo good-natur'd as to queſtion both the truth of it, and the veracity of the Author, that has oblig'd the World with ſo important a Paper. Though

I owe no kindneſs to ſome People that have importun'd me on this ſcore; Nor ſhall take any other notice of a perſonal reflection againſt me in one of their Papers, *of my being forc'd to flee my Countrey in the laſt Reign*, than to confeſs it was true, and that I glory in having choſe to be overwhelm'd in the ruins of my Countrey, rather than to have any ſhare in the Cauſes of them: Tho at the ſame time, I muſt tell that Gentleman, I had as great offers from the Late King, as any of my quality ever had, if I would have accepted them; And that I came not to ſerve the preſent King, out of meer neceſſity, notwithſtanding of my being ruin'd in the two laſt Reigns; Since my good Fortune rather than my Merit, procured me about the ſame time, an honourable Call from a *Crown'd Head* abroad, to one of the *beſt Poſts* that a perſon of my Profeſſion could wiſh: For which ſo undeſerved a favour, I ſhall ever retain the profoundeſt Veneration and Gratitude to that Generous Prince that offer'd it me. However love to truth, and the deſires of ſome *Eminent Perſons* both in Church and State, (to whom I have caus'd it to be ſhewn) has prevail'd with me to leave the *Original Letter* with Mr. *Baldwin* for ten Days time together, juſt after the Publiſhing of this Paper, in order to be ſeen in his hands, by all that pleaſe to call for it. This is one trouble more, that for the ſake of the Publick muſt be put upon a Man that has in all times been firm to the intereſt of *England*, and that *has ſuffered more ſince this Revolution, for Printing Books, be thought, was written for the Government, than all the Bookſellers in* London *have done for Books written againſt it.*

Thus have I done with this *Appendix*; having written it, in a hurry of buſineſs, and *under the diſmal apprehenſions of the greateſt diſaſter that can befall me on earth.* And tho I trouble the World with no more *Obſervators*; yet *I promiſe from time to time, in ſome other way, and under ſome other Title, to ſerve my King and Countrey with my Pen, when any emergency falls out that requires it.*

FINIS.

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